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ABSTRACT

Noting that the employment practices of both large and small newspapers are changing as a result of automation, this paper deals with how automation is affecting the industry employment picture in general and the union employment picture in particular, how the changing employment picture is altering the industry's economic condition, and how management and labor are responding to employment changes brought about by automation. Projections made by the paper include: (1) a continuing loss of craft union membership, (2) diminishing bargaining strength among the various unions associated with newspapers, (3) growing interest among individual unions in merger into one industry-wide union, (4) increasing economic advantage to publishers through substitution of automation for employees, (5) decreasing percentage of operating budgets devoted to wages, and (6) increasing wage differentials between editorial and production workers. (FL)

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THE CHANGING FACE OF LABOR IN THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

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THE CHANGING FACE OF LABOR IN THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

The 19th century newspaper employe was a generalist. It was not unusual to find a worker who could gather the news, write it, set it in type, print it and bundle it for distribution. Today, after a century of technological change which resulted in the formation of more than 20 printing and publishing craft unions, the newspaper employe generalist is returning. Computerized systems in the newsroom have allowed the editor to recapture the key stroke, to direct the production process from creation of the story to distribution of the printed page.

In the century-long swing from overall control to total diversification and back again, craft employes have felt the pendulum's weight knocking them out of the picture or forcing them into new positions. The swath being cut by the automation pendulum is broad--so broad that it has affected the employment status of everyone from the reporter to the mail handler. The effects of this technological revolution are most readily seen among one segment of the industry's work force: those with union representation.

In the entire printing and publishing industry approximately one third of the workers are unionized. The same proportion holds for newspapers. Although union and non-union workers are facing the

same technological displacement, the represented worker's story is the one receiving notoriety.

From media coverage of events such as the pressmen's strike at the Washington Post in 1975-76 and at the New York City dailies in 1978, one might surmise that the newspaper unions have a stronghold on employment in the industry and through force of numbers and skills are directing the economic course of the industry.

Not so. Since the 1974 peace-pact between New York Typographical Union 6 and the New York City dailies, automation rather than manpower has been the dominant force.

This paper attempts to show (I) how automation is affecting the industry employment picture in general and the union employment picture in particular; (II) how the changing employment picture is altering the industry's economic picture; and (III) how management and labor are responding to employment changes brought about by automation.

I. AUTOMATION AND EMPLOYMENT:

Table I shows the increase in the total number employed in the printing and publishing industry and in the newspaper industry from 1970 to 1978.[1]

TABLE 1.--Number of Printing/Publishing Industry employes 1970-1978.

	All employes (1,000s)				Production workers (1,000s)		
	1970	1975	1977	1978	1975	1977	1978
printing/ publishing	1,104	1,083	1,138	1,181	624	644	665
newspapers	373	377	395	406	168	168	165

The number of production workers in the printing and publishing industry from 1975 to 1978 rose from 624,000 to 665,000, a gain of 41,000 (6.5 percent). Yet newspaper production workers declined from 168,000 to 165,000 (1.8 percent). In 1975 27 percent of all production workers in the printing and publishing industry worked for newspapers. By 1978 that percentage had fallen to 25, and the rate is continuing to decline.[1]

The employment outlook for all job categories in the newspaper business is changing. According to the Occupational Outlook Handbook of the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, there were 191,000 compositors (typesetters) in 1968, and 152,000 in 1976; 18,000 photoengravers in 1968 and 10,000 in 1976.[2] In light of the declining figures, the Handbook cautioned that jobs for photoengravers, electrotypers and stereotypers were "expected to be scarce through the mid '80s" as "many firms switch from letterpress to offset" or because of "labor-saving developments such as automatic plate casting and use of plastic printing plates." The government also predicted a decline in the number of compositors due to automated typesetting equipment, yet an increase (albeit slow and small) among press

operators due to the "growth in the amount of printed material." The press operator forecast, however, applies to commercial printing rather than newspapers.

The declining employment picture for various skilled craftsmen becomes more apparent when one looks at union membership figures. In 1972 (the latest date for which federal figures are available) the U.S. Department of Labor reports that the printing and publishing industry was represented by 19 unions, with a total membership of 353,000, or 1.5 percent of the total union membership in the country. Of the 19 unions, 13 were members of the AFL-CIO and comprised all but 13,000 of the total industry union membership. Within newspapers, the dominant unions traditionally have been the International Typographical Union (ITU), representing the compositors or typesetters; the lithographers and photoengravers' unions, now part of the Graphic Arts International Union (GAIU); the pressmen's, stereotypers, electrotypers and platemakers' unions, now all part of the International Printing & Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU); the International Mailers Union (IMU), now part of the ITU; and The Newspaper Guild (TNG), representing the reporting, advertising and business employes. (Approximately half of the Guild's 33,000 members are editorial employes and the remaining half are primarily business office and advertising personnel.)

Figure I and Table 2 show the membership picture of printing and publishing unions from 1955 through 1979.[3] With the exception of The Newspaper Guild all show declines prior to merger and then continuing declines after merger. Extrapolation of the figures for

the GAIU and ITU suggest continuing sharp declines. The Newspaper Guild has maintained a somewhat constant membership from 1974 through 1980 (32,619 in 1974 and 33,382 in 1980).[4]

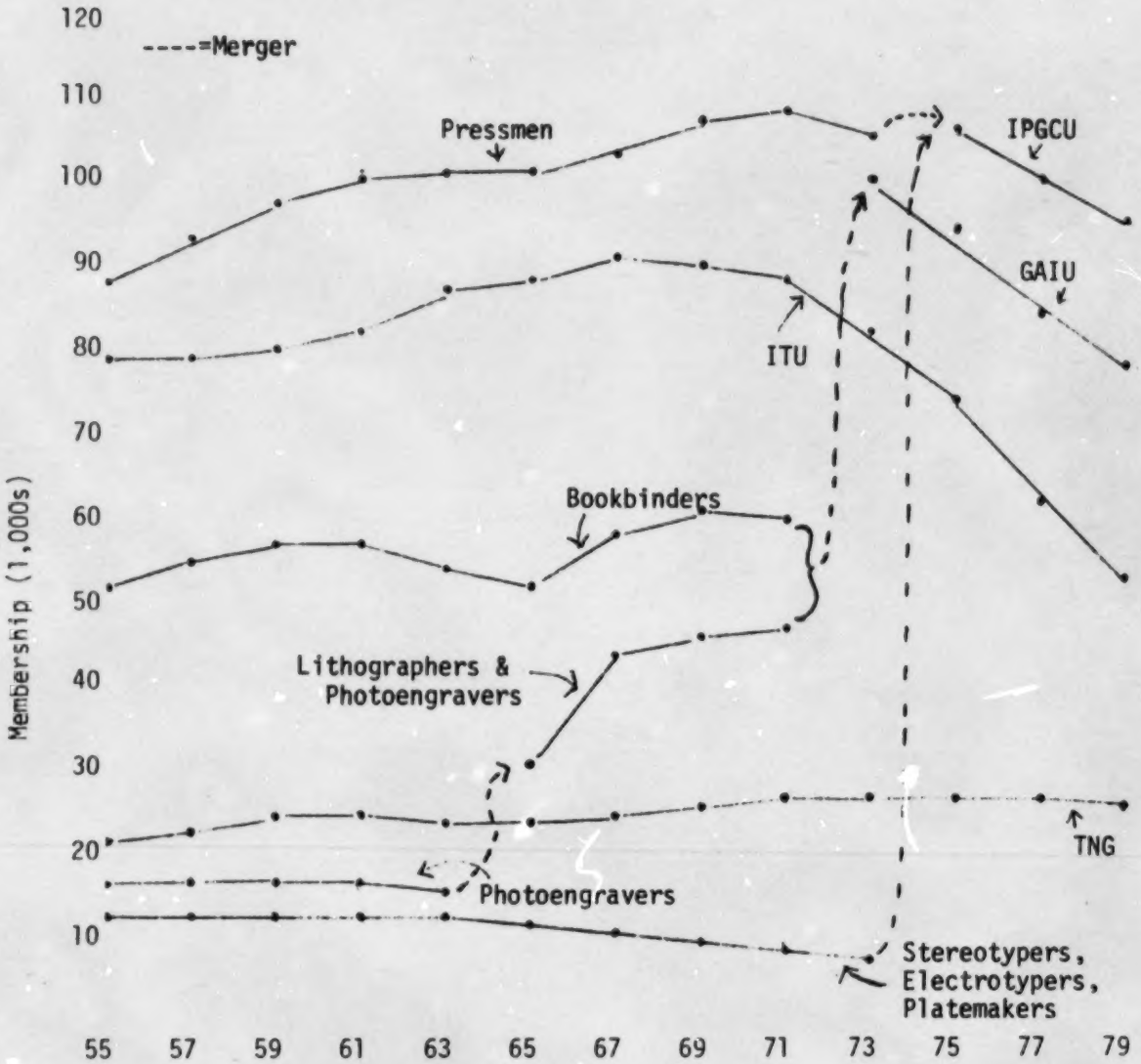

FIGURE I.--AFL-CIO Printing and Publishing Industry union membership and mergers 1955-1979.

TABLE 2.--AFL-CIO Printing and Publishing Industry union membership for 1955 through 1979.*

Organization	Thousands of members												
	1955	1957	1959	1961	1963	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979
Bookbinders, Int. Brotherhood of	51	54	56	56	53	51	57	60	59	a			
Graphic Arts Int. Union										99	93	83	77
Lithographers & Photoengravers Int. Union					b	30	43	45	46	a			
Newspaper Guild, The	21	22	24	24	23	23	24	25	26	26	26	26	25
Photo Engravers Union of North America, Int.	16	16	16	16	15	c							
Printing & Graphic Communications Union, Int.											105	99	94
Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union of North America, Int.	87	92	96	99	100	100	102	106	107	104	d		
Stereotypers,' Electrotypers,' & Platemakers' Union, Int.	12	12	12	12	12	11	10	9	8	7	d		
Typographical Union, Int.	78	78	79	81	86	87	90	89	87	81	73	61	52

NOTE: *Membership figures are generally lower than actual membership counts because they do not take into account certain membership categories and exclude Canadian membership.

a. Merged to form Graphic Arts International Union, September 4, 1972.
b. Reaffiliated with AFL-CIO by merging with Photo Engravers Union of N.A. Int., September 7, 1964.
c. Merged into Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union, September 7, 1964.
d. Merged to form Printing and Graphic Communications Union, Int., October 17, 1973.

II. AUTOMATION AND EMPLOYE ECONOMICS

Increased productivity and profits are the main objectives of increased automation in the newspaper industry. The basic premise is that if fewer people are needed to do the job, profits will ultimately rise. Also embedded in that premise is the long-standing notion that union workers tend to receive higher wages, and if a substantial proportion of those jobs which are eliminated belong to union workers, wage scales for remaining workers will decline and profits will eventually be higher.

The belief that union workers cost the employer more and that they are the stumbling block to full automation in the industry was made evident in the 1975-76 pressmen's strike against the Washington Post. The Post was willing to engage in a protracted strike to not only reduce but eliminate the costs of maintaining a craft union where it felt it could substitute fewer semi-skilled non-union laborers. The strike was successful for the Post, which became the first major metropolitan daily to break the powerful pressmen's union. It eliminated 220 skilled union craftsmen and replaced them with 140 semi-skilled non-union trainees. In declaring an empasse with the pressmen in December 1975, publisher Katharine Graham stated, "The Post has demonstrated both the ability and the will to publish a full-sized competitive newspaper day after day without the help of its craftsmen."[5]

Publishers across the country hailed this as the beginning of the end of union power in the industry. Yet in reality the handwriting for all employes was on the wall--the composing room wall--a year before the ink was splattered on the pressroom walls at the Post on October 1, 1975.

In an unprecedented ten-year pact with the New York City dailies, the New York Typographical Union 6 (known as "Big Six") agreed to permit employers unlimited freedom in availing themselves of any type of advanced technology they desired and deciding how many workers were needed to operate the equipment.

As A.H. Raskin, labor reporter for the New York Times for more than 25 years, pointed out, "The way was cleared for operating changes that spilled out of the composing room into all other parts of the papers."[6] In return the typesetters received lifetime job guarantees that afforded them more security than their publishers. But while publishers were in a sense being locked into lifetime job guarantees, they were being freed from the vulnerability of strikes by the unions, a far more valuable economic consideration. In 1972 Mrs. Graham told her stockholders that the unions were "imposing archaic...practices that deprive the company of the savings we ought to achieve from modern technology. This is a problem we are determined to solve...."[7] And solve it the Post did, with the pressmen serving as the example.

Prior to the Post strike pressmen were making $14,500 a year at scale and an average of $22,000 with overtime. When the pressmen finally abandoned their picket line without a contract or guarantee of reinstatement, they found their jobs filled by non-union help being paid at wages comparable to the old apprentice scales. Only 53 of the old pressmen were taken back at the Post, half of them outside the pressroom and every one a non-union employe.[8]

Two years later the pressmen's struggle to remain a viable

newspaper union moved to New York. The issue in the pressroom was not employes being replaced by machines, but rather being cut back in number. There were simply archaic manning room clauses which publishers were determined to erase from the contract. In what has been characterized by Theodore W. Kheel (the industry's labor peacemaker and final arbiter for the strike) as "one of the most botched up negotiations in history," the Times and News claimed victory in November 1979 when the presses began to roll again. They predicted that by 1984 when the new contract expired, their pressroom costs would be cut approximately one fourth. Little or no savings were expected through 1980, but even by 1984, the maximum annual savings at the Times, for example, was not expected to exceed $6 million, or a cut of only 2 percent in the paper's total operating budget, and a net gain after taxes of just over $3 million.[9] (The cost of the strike after taxes was estimated to be $16 million for the Times and $9 million for the News.[10])

In its coverage of the Washington and New York strikes the media painted a picture of a dying union desperately trying to wrestle victory (or at best stave off defeat) from the hands of the mighty press. The problem with such a picture is that it is neither complete nor representative. Unions are not controlling factors in the newspaper industry and never have been.

In 1976 Bagdikian reported that fewer than 25 percent of the 1,800 daily newspapers in the U.S. have any union members at all. The ITU, he reported, is represented in fewer than 470 papers, while pressmen's unions existed in only 402; 173 had editorial and

commercial unions; 145 had stereotypers; 136 had mailers; and 83 had photoengravers.[11]

Table 3 shows the number of ANPA newspapers with mechanical craft representation in July 1975 and July 1979.[12, 13]

TABLE 3.--Number of ANPA newspapers with mechanical craft representation in 1975 and 1979.

Union	Number of ANPA papers with representation	
	7/1/75	7/1/79
typographers	481	315
pressmen	413	315
stereotypers	120	37
photoengravers	78	71
mailers	136	127

The Newspaper Guild reports that as of February 1, 1980 there are 115 dailies with representation by at least three unions: the Guild, the ITU and the IPGCU. Of these, 46 also have photoengravers represented.

What are these craft unions costing publishers? The Bureau of the Census of Manufacturers shows that the percentage of total newspaper receipts devoted to payroll has decreased steadily (with one minor variation) from 1963 to 1977. In 1963 nearly 40 percent of the value of total receipts went to salaries, while in 1977 that figure was down to 33 percent.[14]

Figures compiled by the Newspaper Analysis Service of Cincinnati, Ohio, show that for a hypothetical metropolitan daily with a circulation of 260,000, the percentage of total income spent on salaries was 24.9 in 1977 and 24.8 in 1978. Percentage of total expenses given to salaries, however, was 32.2 percent in 1977 and 31.3 percent in 1978.[15] Table 4 shows the dollar figures and percentages of total expenses devoted to salaries in various categories throughout the newspaper. Editorial workers receive the highest expenditures, with composing room workers second, followed by advertising and pressroom employes.

TABLE 4.--Salaries as a proportion of total expenses for a 260,000 metropolitan morning-evening-Sunday newspaper.

	1978		1977	
Total income	$32,153,041		$32,410,679	
Total expenses	25,499,775		25,070,217	
Salaries		% total expenses		% total expenses
Editorial	2,026,411	7.9	1,956,317	7.8
Art/Photo	174,096	0.7	166,343	0.7
Advertising	1,224,628	4.8	1,165,554	4.7
Composing room	1,518,662	6.0	1,948,345	7.8
Press room	767,573	3.0	782,437	3.1
Mail room	650,815	2.6	573,315	2.3
Circulation	628,867	2.5	595,241	2.4
Business office	540,319	2.1	478,281	1.9
Executive office	442,200	1.7	415,560	1.7
TOTAL	$7,973,571	31.3 %	$8,081,393	32.2 %

Average hourly earnings of newspaper production workers rose from $5.81 to $6.87 in 1978, but the number of employes receiving those wages fell from 168,000 to 165,000.[16]

While the total number of employes has been decreasing, a shift also has been taking place in the relative pay scales for craft and other workers in the industry. Thirty years ago compositors were making the highest non-managerial wages in a plant. Today they are making significantly less than reporters. Pressmen are making even less than printers, and photoengravers are fourth on the pay scale. Table 5 shows 18 representative newspapers and comparative hourly wages for reporters, printers, pressmen and photoengravers for 1975 and 1980.[17]

TABLE 5.--Hourly wages for reporters, printers, pressmen and photoengravers at 18 newspapers, 1975 and 1980.

City newspaper	Hourly wages - 1975			
	Reporters	Printers	Pressmen	Photoengravers
Akron, Ohio	$ 7.26	$ 6.82	$ 6.76	$ 7.04
Baltimore, Md.	7.85	7.00	6.45	6.91
Chicago, Ill.	9.29	7.61	7.35	8.34
Denver, Colo.	8.52	7.54	7.15	7.26
Honolulu, Hawaii	8.49	8.30	8.30	8.27
Long Beach, Cal.	7.46	7.95	7.54	7.96
Manchester, N.H.	7.26	6.80	6.49	5.33
New York, N.Y.				
News	10.96	8.46	8.24	8.92
Times	11.74	8.46	8.24	8.92
Philadelphia, Pa.	9.09	7.15	7.33	7.29
Providence, R.I.	7.76	6.67	7.25	7.37
Salem, Ma.	7.07	7.35	6.11	6.12
San Jose, Cal.	9.48	8.38	8.28	8.21
Scranton, Pa. (Times)	7.91	7.41	6.41	7.00
Utica, N.Y.	5.86	6.19	6.19	5.12
Washington, D.C.				
Post	11.29	8.87	7.99	9.14
Star-News	11.57	8.87	7.99	9.14
Woodbridge, N.J.	6.74	7.39	7.11	6.04
AVERAGE	8.63	7.63	7.29	6.46

TABLE 5.--Cont.

City newspaper	Hourly wages - 1980			
	Reporters	Printers	Pressmen	Photoengravers
Akron, Ohio	$11.50	$10.30	$10.67	$10.04
Baltimore, Md.	11.40	9.58	7.36	9.71
Chicago, Ill.	13.52	9.57	10.52	11.25
Denver, Colo.	11.13	9.84	10.11	11.21
Honolulu, Hawaii	11.59	11.61	11.61	11.84
Long Beach, Cal.	10.46	10.17	10.22	10.11
Manchester, N.H.	9.69	10.34	9.63	10.10
New York, N.Y.				
News	15.17	13.51	11.16	11.92
Times	16.16	13.51	11.16	11.92
Philadelphia, Pa.	12.40	9.36	9.41	9.39
Providence, R.I.	11.56	9.90	10.10	9.48
Salem, Ma.	9.79	10.00	9.31	9.23
San Jose, Cal.	12.27	10.96	11.06	10.84
Scranton, Pa. (Times)	9.90	9.33	9.39	8.19
Utica, N.Y.	7.44	7.83	8.25	5.12
Washington, D.C.				
Post	13.89	11.60	-----	10.81
Star	12.56	12.55	11.12	10.69
Woodbridge, N.J.	9.29	9.46	8.65	6.04
AVERAGE	11.65	10.55	9.98	9.22

Table 6 shows the increasing disparity in pay scales between ITU and Guild members over the past 30 years. In 1950 printers were making at top scale $1.66 more per week than reporters. Today they are making $48.29 per week less.[18]

TABLE 6.--Reporter top minimum average wage vs. printer top scale average wage, 1950-1980.

Date	Reporter Avg. Top Minimum	Printer Avg. Top Scale	Differential Favoring Guild
1950	$ 88.62	$ 90.28	-$ 1.66
1952	96.27	96.34	- .07
1954	105.87	101.56	+ 2.31
1956	112.09	107.76	+ 4.33
1958	119.79	113.93	+ 5.86
1960	127.33	122.23	+ 5.10
1962	134.11	128.02	+ 6.09
1964	141.83	132.48	+ 9.35
1966	151.63	141.45	+ 10.18
1968	165.74	151.97	+ 13.77
1970	191.71	173.25	+ 18.46
1972	226.91	204.82	+ 22.09
1974	263.05	232.17	+ 30.88
1976	310.07	272.97	+ 37.10
1978	352.10	310.01	+ 42.09
1980	392.80	344.51	+ 48.29

NOTE: Averages do not include Guild minimums where no ITU contract is in effect.

III. MANAGEMENT AND LABOR'S RESPONSE TO AUTOMATION:

Craft unions are responding to automation changes in three major ways: merging, retraining and bargaining. Let us look at each response separately.

A. Union Mergers: By the early 1960s technological developments were beginning to erase the distinctions between one printing skill and the next. The introduction of punched tape, photocomposition, computer typesetting, offset printing, VDTs, optical scanners and new mailroom equipment have eliminated or radically altered many jobs.

As unions began to see their jurisdictional lines fade and the number of available places for their members decrease, they

began talking of merger and eventually of "one big union." Initial attempts to unite as one industry-wide union were abandoned, but increasing numbers of craft mergers in the past decade indicate that the trend toward reunification is growing. In 1964 the 40,000 Amalgamated Lithographers joined with the 20,000 International Photo Engravers to form the Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union, and then in 1972 joined with the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders to create a new 130,000-member Graphic Arts International Union, GAIU.[19]

This union, however, was mostly composed of employes in commercial shops, leaving newspaper unions still largely fragmented. That situation began to change when in 1973 the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America and the International Stereotypers,' Electrotypers,' and Platemakers' Union merged to form the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, IPGCU.

The International Typographical Union, once the largest, most powerful of the printing and publishing unions, is nearly half the size it was 20 years ago, and is continuing to lose members at a rate of about 4,000 a year. In 1959 total active membership was approximately 100,000; in 1978 it was 58,000.[20] Late in 1979 the ITU merged with the 2,600-member International Mailers Union. Serious merger talks with the Guild have been going on since the mid 1970s, and a final vote to unite the two internationals is expected late this summer.

Allan J. Heritage, one of the ITU's vice presidents, in a report to members, stressed that "Changing technology in composing

rooms and in mailing rooms has diminished our strength at the bargaining table. Work previously done by our members, in some cases, is no longer available. Other workers, not members of our union, are competing to perform what work is still necessary where the changing technology has blurred traditional work-assignment boundaries....If we move out of our historical craft-union structure and into the industrial concept in the field of organization, and at the same time continue to foster alliances with other unions in our industry, we can effect a closer alignment among all graphic and communications unions and speed the day when we may have one big union."[21]

The need for a united front was evident in the Post strike, when members of The Newspaper Guild crossed the pressmen's picket lines as a protest against the damage done to paper's presses by striking pressmen. It was again evident in the New York City strike when the three big papers realized they could print without the pressmen, compositors, reporters, stereotypers, photoengravers, etc., but they couldn't get their product on the street without the drivers (the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union, the only independent among the ten newspaper unions. It is the only one not affiliated with either the AFL-CIO or the Allied Printing Trades Council, the coordinating group to which all the others belong.).

B. Retraining Union Employes: Of all the craft unions, the ITU has expended the greatest effort to keep pace with automation by retraining its membership. In the mid 1950s the ITU realized the impact new technology might have on its members and established a union

training center. The center was opened in 1956 to ground printers in the new printing methods who would in turn train other members within their respective locals.

Some technological advances, however, do not leave room for retraining. As automation continues to sweep the industry, mailers are likely to be the next group subject to the elimination process. For instance, a new West German manufacturer of mailroom systems, Ferag Co., has recently introduced the first truly mechanized on-line insertion system. Copies simply bypass the mailroom and feed directly into rotating palletizers at full press speed. Such a system, not currently in operation in the United States, offers increased efficiency, decreased job opportunities.[22]

In the newsroom, management has assumed the responsibility of training editorial, advertising and business staffs in the use of VDT and other composing systems. In just five years, from 1971 to 1976, the number of VDT systems in operation in newsrooms jumped from 155 to 7,038.

C. Bargaining: Both management and labor have attempted to dig in their heels to profit from the new technology with entrenchment taking place at the bargaining table or on the picket line. To an unprecedented degree, publishers have been successful in including broad management rights clauses in contracts which allow them to make adjustments in manpower as technology permits.

For example, the following open-end language was reported by ANPA Labor & Personnel Relations Department as of June 1978.[23]

> The Publisher and the Union hereby agree that interpretation of the jurisdiction sections of the basic labor agreements between the parties at any time hereafter permits the Publisher the full and unrestricted right to utilize in its composing room for direct input into the composing process all material such as machine-readable copy, electronic impulses, tape, etc., from advertising and editorial departments, syndicates or wire services as hereinafter provided.
>
> The Publisher has full right to change its equipment, machinery and/or production process and to provide to the composing room for direct input into the composing process all material such as machine-readable copy, camera-ready copy, electronic impulses, tape, etc....
>
> It is understood that the Publisher has the right to introduce new equipment, systems and procedures into any department and utilize them without restriction. It is also understood that the Publisher will have the right to utilize the most efficient means possible to publish its newspapers.

Such open-end clauses, however, are being extracted at a price--most often lifetime job guarantees for current union workers. For example:

> In consideration of the Union's agreement that the Publisher shall not be restricted with regard to the introduction and operation of new equipment and processes for the composition of its newspaper and its acceptance of the retirement provision herein, the Publisher agrees that all regular situation holders whose priority date precedes June 10, 1972, will be retained on situations for the remainder of their working life but no later than the anniversary of his or her 66th date of birth in accordance with the Retirement Schedule herein....[24]

Attrition and buyouts are the main bargaining routes employers have taken to reduce the work force. The ANPA reports contract after contract in which those employes currently working for the paper have been guaranteed jobs until retirement and have been offered sums ranging from $500 to several thousand dollars to take early retirement.[25] As each guaranteed place is vacated, the

employer has the option to fill or not to fill the position.

Raskin reported that after the New York strike in 1978, the Times tried to hasten the rate at which pressmen were removed from the payroll by offering them buyouts of $15,000 to $40,000. The payments were in inverse relation to age, with the biggest going to the youngest pressmen. According to Raskin, 29 took the payments in the first two months after the strike.[26]

CONCLUSION:

The employment picture is changing rapidly in both large and small newspapers across the country. The skilled craftsman is being replaced by the skilled computer terminal operator or the pressroom or mailroom technician. The reporter's and editor's typewriter and blue pencil are being replaced by the video display terminal and electronic dots. The worker who holds the keystroke is now the one to whom will go the spoils of automation.

The current picture as discussed in this report suggests the following employment projections for the 1980s:

(1) Continuing loss of craft union ranks;

(2) Diminishing bargaining strength among the individual unions;

(3) Growing interest among individual unions for merger into one industry-wide union;

(4) Increasing economic advantage to publishers through substitution of automation for employes, as labor costs continue to rise and improved technology becomes more affordable to smaller newspapers;

(5) Decreasing percentage of operating budgets devoted to wages; and

(6) Increasing wage differentials between editorial and production workers.

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the U.S. 1979, p. 411.

2. U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 1955, Occupational Outlook Handbook 1978-79; 1970-71; 1972-73; 1976-77.

3. "American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations Paid Membership," from TNG Executive Council Report to Convention, November 1979. The table shows the average per capita membership paid to the AFL-CIO from the year 1955 and subsequent 2-year periods thereafter. The 1979 figures are based on the 2-year period ending August 31, 1979.

4. Memo from David J. Eisen, director of Research & Information, The Newspaper Guild, Washington, D.C., dated March 14, 1980.

5. Dirks Reports, Washington Post Co., January 15, 1976, p. 1.

6. A.H. Raskin, "A Reporter at Large: The New York Newspaper Strike, Part I," The New Yorker, January 22, 1979, pp. 41-42.

7. Ben H. Bagdikian, "Maximizing Profits at the Washington Post," The Washington Monthly, January 1976, pp. 26-35.

8. Raskin, op. cit., p. 47.

9. A.H. Raskin, "A Reporter at Large: The New York Newspaper Strike, Part II, The New Yorker, January 29, 1979, p. 79.

10. Ibid., p. 80.

11. Bagdikian, op. cit., p. 32.

12. American Newspaper Publishers Association Semi-Annual Scale Report, July 1, 1975: Mechanical Crafts.

13. American Newspaper Publishers Association Semi-Annual Scale Report, July 1, 1979: Mechanical Crafts.

14. Statistical Abstracts, op. cit., p. 588.

15. Scott D. Timmerman, "Preprints cut into ROP revenues," Editor and Publisher, April 21, 1979, p. 52.

16. Statistical Abstracts, op. cit., p. 411.

17. The Newspaper Guild Collective Bargaining Manual, Reporter Top Minimums vs. Mechanical Union Scales, 2/1/75, 2/1/80.

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